1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

the man (or men) who brings the fish to take the portion to the Tui Kanokupolu. The Tui Kanokupolu then gives the bearer dry kava root and tapa. In presenting the fish, either *atu*, or *vete*, the bearer says, "Ata sends these fish."

At the *vete* fishing, Ata is sometimes present, sitting in the shade of a tree until all is ready. When Latukefu notifies him to come, the fishermen make a place for him in the middle of the line; Latukefu announcing that the moment for casting has come, Ata throws his net. At once all in line do likewise, making a fence of their nets, which are so skillfully thrown that one net just touches the next. To close the exit, the end man throws his net at right angles to the others. For a net thrower to overlap another's net or to leave an opening for fish to escape would entail a thrashing by Ata, or some one detailed by him, and the tearing to pieces of his net. The nets are the property of the fishermen and are said to have been so anciently. Not only when Ata is present at fishing, but also on later occasions, the women remain behind in Kolovai, and assemble the necessary things for preparing kava and take them where the men are fishing. Subsequent to the first catch of the season, it is the custom to present the first haul of *vete* to the women who have brought the kava. Ata receives his share of later catches, of which he may, or may not, send some to the Tui Kanokupolu.

The gathering of crustacea and shellfish, which is done chiefly by women, was under the supervision of a petty chief with the title Tovi. Tovi, at the coronation of the Tui Kanokupolu, makes a speech relative to the gathering of shellfish and crabs. It is Tovi's special duty to have crabs and shellfish gathered for Ata, who forwards them to the Tui Kanokupolu.

Evidently lineages other than the Haa Ngata Motua had chiefs who, like Ata, functioned as controllers of the food supply. It is said that Vaea occupies a similar position in the Haa Havea, and that formerly Tamale held the same position in the Tui Tonga's lineage. In their capacity of controllers of the food supply these three chiefs are called by other chiefs *tuakaifonua*, an ancient uncomplimentary term which means literally, "commoner eating the land," and which is said to be applied by chiefs who are jealous of this extensive control of food products. A more elegant Tongan designation for these controllers of the food supply is *pule fonua*, (ruler of the land). Anciently the produce submitted by Ata and Vaea to the Tui Kanokupolu was in part transmitted to the Tui Haa Takalaua and to the Tui Tonga. That assembled through the efforts of Tamale went directly to the Tui Tonga.

On certain occasions all of the chiefs of the Haa Ngata Motua and the Haa Havea brought presents of food and kava to the Tui Kanokupolu, a ceremony called *pongipongi* (literally, morning), though presentation took place in the afternoon. When the Haa Havea or the Haa Ngata Motua de-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

clubs with, as well as their wooden pillows (see p. 127:) the high price set upon these ornaments will be exemplified in the following account, which Finow, on this occasion, gave to Mr. Mariner.

A short time after the revolt at Tonga, when Finow first became sovereign of Hapai and Vavaoo, news was brought him of a large dead whale being drifted on a reef, off a small island, inhabited only by one man and his wife; who had the cultivation of a small plantation there. Finow immediately sailed for this place, and finding the teeth taken from the whale, questioned the man about them, who thereupon went to his house, and taking down a basket from the roof presented it to him, but in it were only two teeth. The man protested that he put them all there, and knew nothing more about them; and taxing his wife with having concealed them, she acknowledged that she had secreted one, and brought it to him, from a place in which no others were found; but this she assured him was all she had taken. The man defended his innocence on the plea that the teeth would be of no use to him; for being poor, he could not sell them for any thing else, since every chief who could afford to give their value would question his right to them, and take them from him: and, for the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

same reason, he could not wear them. Finow was not satisfied with this plea, and being unable to make them confess by fair means, he threatened them both with death: the man still protesting his innocence, Finow ordered him to be immediately dispatched with a club; which being done, he again threatened the woman, and she as strongly protested her innocence: but when the club which had just ended the life of her husband was raised over her own head, she acknowledged that she had concealed another tooth, and accordingly brought it from a different place; and being unable or unwilling to produce any more, she shared the same fate. Finow's conduct here seems very cruel; but however, we are to place a great deal to the account of the state of society in which he lived; and at the same time, we must consider that robbery is punished with death in other countries, as well as in Tonga. But what is most worthy of reflection is the strong hold which that ridiculous passion avarice takes of the human mind, which sometimes disposes a man to suffer death rather than part with what he cannot or will not ever make use of. Both the man and woman, in all probability, were guilty; the woman certainly was; and yet she could bear to see her husband sacrificed before her face rather than confess all she knew of the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

matter, and entreat mercy for him at least, if not for herself. The remainder of these teeth were discovered a long time afterwards, by the particular intervention (as the natives will have it) of the gods. A few years had elapsed, when there being occasion to build and consecrate a house to some god, on the island of Lefooga, it was taken into consideration what valuable article should be deposited beneath its foundation, according to the custom on such occasions. They were about to get ready a large bale of gnatoo for this purpose, when the inspired priest of the god declared it to be the wish of the divinity to have some whale's teeth; and that there were several buried together on the small island just spoken of, in such a particular spot: which place being referred to and dug up, the teeth were found in a perfect state. This discovery was most firmly and most piously believed to have been made by the sacred interposition of the god himself, who inspired his favourite priest with the requisite knowledge to make it.

In the Fiji islands, whales' teeth are held, if possible, in still greater estimation, for it would be dangerous there for a man, unless he be a great chief, and even then, if he were a foreigner, to be known to have a whale's tooth about him; the personal possession of such a

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

to their late unsuccessful expedition.)—Hala Api Api had considerable property at the island of Foa, and he sent a message to an old mata-boole residing there, (who had been a faithful servant to his father,) to gather all his moveable property, consisting of some whale's teeth and a considerable quantity of Hamoa mats, and deposit it in a house of his upon the beach, that he might come some time under cover of the night, and secure it.

Some of the Vavaoo warriors proposed a plan, if the captain would lend them the use of the ship, to kill Toobó Tóa and his greatest fighting-men, in revenge for his murder of their lamented chief, the brave Toobó Nuha. The plan was for about two hundred of the choicest Vavaoo warriors to conceal themselves below on board the Favourite, and when she arrived at the Hapai islands, Toobó Tóa and many other considerable chiefs and warriors were to be invited on board, and then the boarding nettings being hauled up that none might escape, at a signal to be given the Vavaoo people were to rush on deck and dispatch them all with their clubs. To this, of course, the captain did not consent.

Finow consigned to Mr. Mariner's care a present for Mafi Habe, consisting of a bale of fine Vavaoo gnatoo and five or six strings of hand-

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

OTHER MANUFACTURES

133. E homo ae hui a Lafi: The needle of Lafi will be parted with, that is, will be parted with more easily than the thing that one proposes to do will be accomplished. 539 412

Lafi is said to have been the first to use the bone needle and whale's tooth in the manufacture of certain articles. His needle, or piercing instrument, was naturally not a thing to be given away lightly and obtaining the needle has become proverbial for that which is difficult of attainment. (Compare Nos. 340, 358 and 370.)

134 Haihaija Kae heheia: Bound up yet wandering about. 539 422 735 556

The thing that is bound up is wealth, and its owner does the wandering about. Tongan wealth, consisting largely of mats and cloth, is tied up in bundles and kept in the rafters of houses. One who is not well provided with these necessaries of life will be likely to go about looking for someone of whom he may beg a supply. This expression indicates one who, though possessed of ample store himself, keeps his own goods carefully bundled up at home and goes about seeking assistance from the bounty of others as though he had nothing of his own. (Compare No. 106.)

135. Hange ha fala kuo fofola: Like a mat spread out. 539

Applied to a calm sea, also generally to anything with a smooth surface.

136. Hange ha lali fou: Like a cracked drum. 539 422 829

When the native drum is broken it is not usually thrown away but is stowed in the house where obviously it must often get in the way. The phrase is applied to useless people who merely take up room about a place.

137. Nifi eni kae nafa e: Little this but great that, that is, this is nothing to what there is going to be. 539 534

The word *nafa*, translated "great", means really the Tongan drum which consisted of a bundle of lengths of bamboo, closed at one end and open at the other, so arranged that half the openings were at one end and half at the other. A mat was wrapped round the bundle of bamboos, but leaving the ends exposed. The instrument was not stood on end, but laid lengthwise, and beaten with two sticks on the upper surface. In contradistinction to *nifi*, small and thin, the drum is used here as the symbol of that which is large and bulky.

138. Nimo i talafau: Hidden in the *talafau*. 539 285

Talafau is the space between two rows of plaiting on the bottom of one type of basket (called *kato fakaono*) of rather superior design and used only for things that will not soil it. A small article might be con-

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

265. Mamao a folau: Distant on a voyage. 539 484

This seems a fair representation of the literal meaning though it may be translated slightly differently. This rendering, however, well indicates the real meaning and use of the expression, which is that the one spoken of is at a distance but will return. He is away on a trip, not to stay, and in due course the time will come for his return.

266. Mamao a hikuhiku jila: The distance of the tip of the yard, or the tip of the yard is distant. 539 501

This refers to that which is now at a distance but which later will be brought near. Just as in the boat the tip of the yard is far out of reach and hanging over the sea when the sail is set, but later on the sail will be taken in and the formerly inaccessible end of the yard will be brought within easy reach.

267. Mata liu ae fine heke: The strange woman (that is, one without part or lot in the matter) looking at a boat's hold. 539 562 226

This is said to be referable mainly to important fishing, such as shark fishing, and to indicate women who go to the shore to see a boat with which they have no concern discharge her catch. The women who are connected with the boat would say in effect by this phrase, "Let these women look; that is as much as they will get out of it. Ours it is to share in the distribution of the spoil." It is referred to the fascination and interest which women unaccustomed to the sight of a boat unloading her cargo would find in the spectacle. They would wish to return again and again and see more of it. To this line of thought seems to belong its application to a woman enamored of a handsome man (*manaia*). She would never tire of going to look at him. The first idea seems to be present also. Let her look at the man; he will be another's prize. Baker, however, gives what is apparently an opposite meaning. "To be enamored of strange women." Its most common application, at any rate at the present day, would seem to be to women looking at the treasures being unloaded from a boat in which they have no concern.

It is stated also that this expression has reference to the ceremony following the launching of a new boat, the *hopoki*, literally the getting on board. Before this ceremony the boat could not be entered by women. The ceremony might be performed by men but was usually done by women; the most proper person being the chiefliest woman amongst the people to whom the boat belonged. In this connection also the idea would be of the distinction between the "other" women who had no part nor lot in the boat, and those who were intimately connected with her. (Compare No. 400.) 539 501 562 788

268. Mata vaka piki vaka: Seeing boat, sticking to boat. 539

People are welcome to go and see other people's boats, but they must not go on board without permission or otherwise take the sort of liberties with her which one may take with his own property. A caution against meddlesomeness. 422 571

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 539 821 183

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of metaphorical employment. 539 264 422 [821]

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house.

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing. 539 821 [571]

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has not the means to ascertain. [829]

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were at first. [132] [183]

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will be rain. 539 821

Vai-muna (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-muí* (Later rain, or water) are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look forward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately on the failure of one expected opportunity. 805 [132]

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai*, the rainy months, about February or January and March, when the native food supply is low. 539 261 183

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the lean months look after themselves. [132]

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness (to do) then wait till Uluenga. 539 571 183

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, 223
particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is 422
used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is 431
plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial re- 571
sponse to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome.

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who 223
handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like *"Puke-* 183
puke a fufula," "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's attention and energy to the task in hand.

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and cele- 526
brations.]

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, 571
but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes 578
to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will 829
end in tears for the little one.

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *tautakao* in 526
which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close."

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or single-sticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

Maternal uncle (fa'e tangata) and nephew and niece (ilamutu)

Even today the *ilamutu* has the privilege of making free with a *fa'e tangata*'s possessions. A man of about sixty years old told me that he had taken a bicycle, pigs, yams and so on from his four *fa'e tangata*. All his *fa'e tangata* have passed away now, but he is still able to take similar things away from their children if he wishes. Conversely, he has several *ilamutu* of his only sister. He always locks the door of his house while he is out, for fear that the *ilamutu* should come and take away what they want. *Ilamutu* have freedom also towards *fa'e tangata*'s wife from whom they can get bark clothes or mats without permission. But if she is not a good natured woman, they cannot make free with her own property.

Cousins

The *fakafotu* have to observe *tapu* towards *mehikitanga*'s children, too. But the *tapu* in this case is not so strict as towards the *mehikitanga*. According to the explanation given by an old man, cousins may play together in their childhood, but brother's children may not strike sister's children and not touch their head or possessions. On the other hand, sister's children may take what they want away from brother's children and eat the foods they leave over.

Husband and Wife

There is no *tapu* between those who are denoted under the term *mali* each other. Those two persons who are not real husband and wife, may stay in one room together, talking about anything.

Matapule

A woman and her brother's wife may not use clothes, bark cloths, combs, mats and so forth in common. They may beat bark cloth in company and use a beating bat in common. If one were ill and there were no one to nurse, the other may care for her but it is *tapu* to attend her at the time of delivery, and to suckle her baby even if the mother can not nourish it on her own milk.

VI — Actual Behaviour in the Interpersonal Relationship

Variation in the Behaviour

When we ask the Tongan about the kinship behaviour they should observe, they mention so and so, as described in the previous chapter. People are very proud of the custom that a brother should respect his sister, saying "This is *fake Tonga*, Tongan way." As one might suspect, there seems to be a little difference between the norm and the actual behaviour. My interpreter used to say "If a man is properly reared in Tongan way, he has respect for and supports his sister." But the norm has been losing its strictness; a man, once married, will no longer bring his sister food, money or anything she pleases, in preference to his wife.

57: Clerke G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

some few with as fine brown hair, as ever I met with. The people of distinction in general wear their Hair rather long, those of inferior rank quite short; some of the Women of Fashion let it grow & hang in ringlets below their Waist. These people cut their Hair & shave with Sharks Teeth, which answer those purposes amazingly well. They are exceedingly neat & cleanly in their Persons, both Men & Women bathe as soon as they rise in the Morning, and are then rub'd over with Oil which has a most agreeable perfume; this perfume has a pleasing effect if at any time you get umbled among a multitude of them, which was frequently the Case.

Their police[1] I never cou'd clearly understand; now tho' Powlahow is King here to all intents & purposes, still there's a family consisting of a Mother, 2 Daughters & a Son, who, tho' of no consequence in the State, Powlahow cannot eat or drink before, & in many Cases does them Homage: the Mother was Powlahow's Fathers Sister, of course his Aunt, & these Daughters & Son his Cousins.[2] We had the Son & one of the Daughters frequently with us; they are not even Principals of any districts, nor seemingly have any thing at all to do with government, but live a strange lawless Life, going where they please & doing what they please. It is not unusual here, if any Gentleman sees a Servant carrying Plantains, Yams or whatever may be, to call him & demand whose property that is, & upon being made acquainted, if he happens to be a Man of less consequence than himself, he will without any hesitation take any part he pleases, or probably the whole, & send the poor Fellow away about his Business. This Cousin of Powlahow's, whose Name is Latūla-boolu,[3] one day was by our Tent & saw 2 fellows passing, loaded with ripe Plantains, he call'd to them & demanded where they were going, they answerd, to Powlahow, upon which he order'd them to bring the Plantains to him, this they not very readily obeying, he sent two of his retinue who beat them confoundedly & made the poor fellows bring the Plantains & beg to be excused farther Punishment; these he wanted to sell but cou'd not find a purchaser, he then eat as many as he cou'd, gave to some Gentlemen there as many as they wou'd have & very civilly order'd Powlahows Men to take the rest to his Master. As to the lower Class of People they certainly can have no redress for the grievances inflicted by the Agee's, be they whatever they may; this I conclude from Transactions which happen'd immediately before us, for I think it is a very fair inference, if they may knock their Brains out at their Pleasure, they may certainly do any thing else they shou'd chance to take in their Heads. One day while we were laying at Anamooka, an Agee orderd the People to retire from our Market Place, where we were trading for Hogs, Yams &c; they directly moved off, but not being so quick in their Motions as the Agee thought they shou'd, he took up a confounded large Stick, and beat without mercy who ever he

[1] Principles of 'public administration'.

[2] Clerke seems to be speaking of the *Tu'i Tonga fefine* Sinaitakala, the female Tu'i Tonga, and her children the *Tamaha*; the eldest daughter was Maoungalakepa, the son was Latunipulu. Cf. Cook, p. 196, n. 2 above.

[3] Latunipulu.

/80 cont./

585 and ecclesiastical ceremonies were simply added, just as other
177 European characteristics (for example, the large canisters of
178 zwieback which today are so important) were adopted as a matter of
585 course, so that everything has undergone an amicable fusion. The
565 upper classes (231)
178

231. These very probably practiced all such customs even in olden times more extensively and conscientiously than did the broad masses.

--up to the royal house- cling more tenaciously than the commoners to the old wedding customs (with respect to clothing as well as the
585 punctiliously preserved ceremony). Probably the lavish use of Tongan
565 apparel seen at many weddings of commoners is not to be interpreted as
292 tradition handed down from olden times, since the broad masses were
178 formerly obliged to work for the nobles; (232)

[422]

232. Compare J. Martin (loc. cit. II. p. 109) on the women of the lower classes in ancient Tonga: "...what they make is not their own property, but is done by order of their superiors." /cited in English/

rather, most of the people probably /81/ gradually came into possession of valuable mats and long lengths of tapa only after their "liberation," in respectful but purposive imitation of upper-class customs.

585 Today, among commoners, it may also come about that young couples
583 --with the silent approval of their parents--stage a "flight marriage,"
178 that is to say, run away and have a civil and church marriage. This saves the parents the economic burden of the wedding celebration.
585 That, along with the rather frequent abolishing at the regular
178 marriage of the delayed consummation, (233)

[565]

233. According to E.W. Gifford (Tongan Society, p. 193), the marriage among commoners was in former times consummated during the first

/147 cont./

352 177 (566) [574] personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.

Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-
415 178 footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place in most houses, as in the old days (391)

391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

422 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are
412 824 cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (tau fale) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord
354 178 177 and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have, however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather
392 177 178 widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is often produced in the old way, (392)

392. On the long side of a trunk of Hibiscus tiliaceus (tolonga) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (kaunatu) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

415 177 178 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.

000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and

/168 cont./

231 [136] [197] Only a few Tongans were interested in the cats which Europeans imported.

The following survey may give an idea of the numerical proportion of the individual domestic animals. The data were obtained in April 1952 in 'Uiha/'Uiha, a typical village of the more remote islands, and in May 1952 in Fungamisi/Vava'u, a village adjacent to the rather large seaport of Neiafu:

231 184 422 [126]

/169/'UIHA:

Domestic animals (including young animals)	In possession of all 99 households checked	per household	
Pigs	917	0(444)	--35
Chickens	1095	0(445)	--54
Horses	54	0	-- 3 (446)
Cattle	1	0	-- 1
Goats	31	0	-- 5
Ducks	33	0	--10

FUNGAMISI:

Domestic animals (including young animals)	In possession of all 42 households checked	per household	
Pigs	109	0(447)	--20
Chickens	547	0(448)	--50
Horses	38	0	-- 4 (449)
Cattle	14	0	-- 4
Goats	6	0	-- 3
Ducks	21	0	--10

444. Of the 99 households only three have no pigs.

445. Of the 99 households 13 have no chickens.

446. Only one household has three horses.

447. Nineteen households have no pigs.

448. Nine households have no chickens.

449. Only one household has four horses.

/171 cont./

231 492 transport to the village their tubers, coconuts and other plantation products in a sack or coconut-leaf basket that lies crosswise in front of the rider. The owners of European two-wheel carts (455)

[493] [177] [422]

455. In the various villages, some one-eighth or one-fourth of the households own such carts.

can bring heavy loads home with their horses; the harness consists of a leather collar, a wooden back yoke /?/ /Ruckenbugel/, iron head harness and lines; a twig serves as a whip. Sometimes they also slaughter horses which they like to eat occasionally. [262]

231 The Tongan makes horse-raising very comfortable for himself. There are no stalls or enclosures. He tethers his horse near his house in the village, so that it can graze, or he ties it to a tree on the plantation where it can find its food. Water shortage makes it necessary to lead horses specially to watering places, which is not always easy. On the plantations horses often cause considerable damage, especially if they break away. The Tongan does not know how to look after horses and groom them. He often continues to use them as riding and pack animals even when they have open wounds on their backs as a result of improper treatment. [492]

[439] The horses imported mostly from Australia and New Zealand are said to have decreased after a few generations, probably because of changed living conditions.

Cow:

[136] This domestic animal repeatedly introduced to Tonga by whites has to this day not become prevalent or of importance on the islands. Very few natives keep cattle, which are chiefly thought of as furnishing meat; cows are not milked. The animals are tethered on a rope on the plantations, so that they can find their food within a circumscribed area. Sometimes the natives lead them to a watering place, but they also leave them a few days or even weeks in one place,

/208 cont./

above under ta'o-vala kie).

kie Tonga:

This likewise very valuable mat, today the most finely plaited in Tonga, is popularly worn by bride and bridegroom at their wedding and also occasionally as a ta'o-vala at important church services and festivities. A commoner will not wear it when he visits a headman (in order not to elevate himself), but the nobles themselves may wear it at all times. In the various villages only a few natives own such kie Tonga. Even today, as in the past, (536)

536. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 162.

such mats are bought from Samoa where they are made even better and more exquisitely; however, the difficulties involved in procuring these in particular are too great to make possible a general distribution in the Archipelago.

The material for these mats is also the lou kie species of pandanus (see above).

6. Various Mats

pola:

By "pola" the Tongan means the coarsely woven halved coconut palm leaves of specific (rectangular) shapes that are plaited for various purposes. They are used for the many sections of walls and roofs of ancient Tongan style dwellings, as well as for the "mat doors" put together out of several pola. The coconut leaf mattings (pola kai) (537)

537. Two joined, coarsely plaited halves of coconut palm leaves.

on which festive meals are served should also be mentioned here.

fala tuki kava:

This special mat serves as a pad on which the kava roots are

/210 cont./

285 remained a floor mat (547)
178

547. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 294.

and the fala paongo is still used as the typical sleeping mat. (548)

548. Ibid.

Mats are made today in large numbers and the natives willingly and as a matter of course, despite all apathy, take on the hard work of making them according to the traditional and complicated process.

285 Mat-making--as in old times--(549)
462
178

549. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 293.

is typically women's work. Only the coarse pola, for example, are also plaited by men (as in ancient Tonga). (550)

550. Ibid., p. 295.

(249) Even the planting of pandanus is often done by the women. The cutting of the leaves in particular is their business, "since the men might easily break them," and the entire subsequent work process is done by
(406) the women exclusively. Plaiting the mats (especially the larger ones) is preferably done cooperatively in a kautaha. (551)

551. See pp. 95/96.

285 An important difference compared to the past is the fact that all
565 goods make by Tongan women of the commoner class are their property,
422 (552)
178

552. See in this connection J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 100.

and that today women of rank no longer make mats as a hobby and for sale, (553)

553. Ibid., pp. 100, 295.

especially not for the latter purpose.

285 Basket-making is an important area of Tongan plaitwork, today
178 as it was in the past. The following account may show the most

/219 cont./

287 this a second layer of tapa (lauolunga) (consisting of feta'aki), (574)
386
(381)

574. The individual feta'aki are properly trimmed as they are laid in place.

which is pressed on (glued) and rubbed with the color-scrap soaked with koka dye, so that on the now brownish surface the darker brown patterns of the printing panels stand out in contrast. With paint-brushes (fo'i fa) (pandanus fruit) the women draw over the individual patterns. When they have finished painting the length of the tapa (575)

(412)

575. They straighten the edge of it with a knife or with scissors.

on the "drum," they pull it down far enough so that on its longitudinal edge more feta'aki pieces can be glued, layered, dyed and painted, whereupon the process is repeated again and again, so that on one side of the drum a longer and longer length of two-ply, dyed and painted tapa builds up. On both edges, which remain uncolored, the women always paint the number of the segment in arabic numerals; one segment is always two hand-spans wide. A finished tapa length is about 20 to 27 meters long and 3.70 to 4.40 meters wide. For special purposes (for example, as a gift to the sovereign) they make tapas that are more than 100 meters long.

(802)
287

The glued and dyed tapa lengths are spread out with the colored side uppermost to dry in the sun. The women also lay them in the grass in front of their dwellings before sunrise, so that the dew (and thereafter the sun) can make the bast cloth "strong and beautiful."

287
531
386

The final operation is the redrawing of the decorations on the printing panels. This the owner (576)

(422)
(476)

576. The owner of such a long tapa is always the woman who furnished the necessary raw tapa (feta'aki); the kautaha works for each of its members in turn (see pp. 137-140).

/231 cont./

505

607. Both are sailboats with auxiliary motors and a displacement of approximately 80 to 100 tons.

[501] the motor boats and sailboats (with auxiliary motors) of the churches and especially all the sailboats (cutters, sloops) owned by Tongans and today stationed on almost all inhabited islands of the Archipelago. (608)

608. In 1952, for example, six such sailboats belonged to the village of Nomuka (567 inhabitants, ten to the village of 'Uiha (647 inhabitaznts) and two (along with two motor boats) to the village of Fungamisi (263 inhabitants). The price of such a sailboat depends on its size and the circumstances of its acquisition. Today it may cost up to 800 T. (about 7320 German marks).

[435]

[396] [177] [422] [471] These sailboats built entirely after European models are built by Whites or half-castes, sometimes also by Tongans themselves with imported material. They are the property of one person or of several who formed a sort of cooperative. For a fixed fare, paid in Tongan currency, the generally altogether overloaded vessels transport human beings and cargo; people travel on them to visit relatives or go shopping, students travel on them to their colleges at the beginning and end of vacation, copra is shipped on these sailboats to the receiving stations of the Copra Board, and the supply of goods from the commercial centers of Nuku'alofa, Neiafu and Pangai to the small and smallest islands is made possible only by this traffic; natives also set out to fish in the high seas (deep sea angling) in cutters and sloops.

[501] In such boats, which are approximately between 4 and 15 tons, the natives often sail a hundred and more sea miles on the open sea, and there are seldom accidents even during stormy night journeys. The Tongans(609)

/235 cont./

412 178 197 [237] Though the popao seems unchanged in principle from that of the past, the tools used in building it are quite different from those used in ancient Tonga. The axes with black stone blades, the drills with shark's teeth and fish-skin scrapers (621)

621. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...VI. p. 287.

have long since disappeared, and new equipment is used instead, which represents, in part, a combination of European material and Tongan form, (622)

622. See transverse hatchets, p. 200-202.

in part, purely imported materials of whites.

501 [415] [178] To propel a popao one or two paddles are required. Special bailers (box at the bottom of the boat) with a handle inside are very seldom made any more. The natives usually use rather large coconut shells or empty cans to bail out.

501 184 422 The supply of boats of the popao type is by no means uniform on the individual islands. Investigations made by the author in 1951/52 for instance, showed that in 'Uiha (Ha'apai) only three out of 100 households had popao, whereas the 85 households of Nomuka (Ha'apai) had about 40, and the 45 households of Fugamisi (Vava'u) had 17 boats of this type. There are apparently no particular reasons for this unequal distribution, for the living conditions of the natives of 'Uiha and Nomuka are very similar. The people of the remote village of 'Uiha--in which, according to statements of older Tongans, only a few decades ago almost every household owned a popao--seem to have simply lost the inclination to build these boats, whereas the inhabitants of Fungamisi (the "suburb" of the urbanized harbor settlement of Neiafu) still show a greater interest in this boat, though there is no compelling necessity for it. One may assume, in general, 501 178 that the supply of these simple outriggers--considerable though it

/235 cont./

501 seems to be on many islands--has very much decreased and will continue
178 to do so. The reason for this, however, is not that superior
[177] European types of boats are replacing the popao, (623)

623. The cutters and sloops have replaced the old catamarans, and the few rowboats (dingi) of European construction in the Archipelago, made with expensive imported material, present no serious competition for the popao which are so easily built.

but that the /236/ Tongans today seem to turn less to the sea than they did formerly. (624)

624. For instance, only relatively few Tongans are able to handle a popao really skilfully in a somewhat turbulent sea.

501 The "countless numbers of small boats or canoes" (625)

625. Tagebuch einer Entdeckungsreise.../Diary of a journey of exploration/ translated by J.R. Forster. p. 93 (he means the tafa-anga).

which welcomed Cook, for instance, could today no longer be assembled, even if one included cutters, sloops, popao and rowboats of several islands lying close together. For example, of the 100 households in
● [422] the village of 'Uiha in April/May 1952, 86 had no watercraft; of the 45 households of the village of Fungamisi during the same period, 24 were without such a craft, and the natives of the four villages of the island of Lifuka had a total of scarcely 20 boats of various kinds.

489 Much has therefore changed in the area of transportation. Though
177 the majority of Tongans go about on foot on the islands, the influence
178 of modern methods of transportation (horse, cart, bicycle or motor vehicle) is in part considerable. Modern vehicles will undoubtedly increase in importance on the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u in the coming years, while on the smaller islands, with shorter

489 /236 cont./
177 distances and poor, unpaved roads, the optimum seems to have been
178 reached at this time.

505 With regard to sea traffic, it is noteworthy that the seafaring
178 Tongans doubtless still possess the nautical sense of their renown
177 ancestors, but in comparison with the past, in general, a certain estrangement from the sea can be seen. Since they depend on the monthly steamer for transportation outside Tonga (and in part also within Tonga), and since, for transportation between the islands of the Archipelago, they use sailboats whose building material (626)

626. The wood for building these boats must also be imported, since the natives lumber does not seem resistant enough.

must be imported, they have become dependent on Europeans in their
501 traffic on the high seas. Of the ancient Tongan type of boats--with
505 the exception of the now very rare tafa'anga--the simplest type of out-
178 rigger, the popao, has alone been preserved and is used on short trips for various purposes rather frequently.

489 There is no noticeable difference between nobles and commoners
565 with respect to means of transportation. Not origin, but economic
184 potential is decisive for the acquisition of land- and seacraft. (627)

627. In addition, there is borrowing without direct return service (see p. 136-137.

501 In accordance with the social structure of ancient Tonga, the
422 catamarans of those days were solely in possession of the nobility.
565 Today the /237/ sailboats that have replaced the catamarans belong
178 largely to commoners, and money plays a part in the traffic of these cutters and sloops which transport almost all passengers and goods for money.